1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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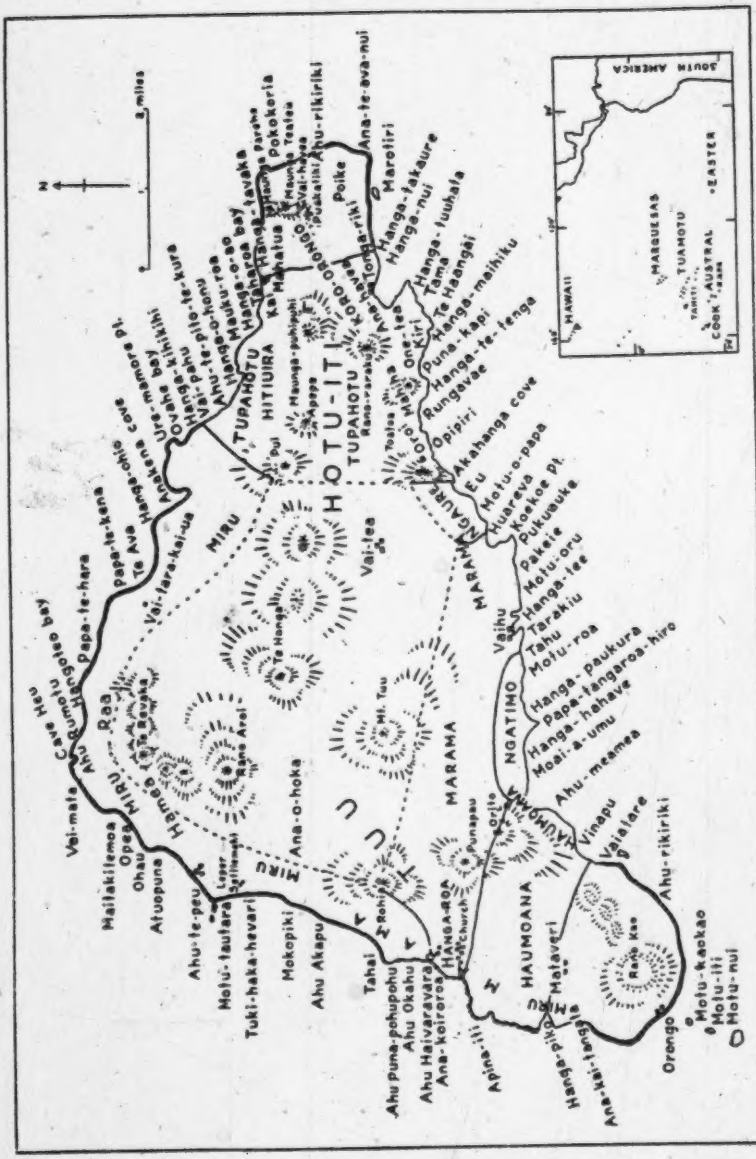

FIGURE 1.—Map of Easter Island with inset showing relative position in Polynesia.

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from French and adjusted to Polynesian phonetics, but some words are derived from English (51, pp. 31-32). Now Spanish is becoming more common, and, since the founding of a school at Hanga-roa by the Chilean government, its use will undoubtedly increase. Most natives are receptive to foreign languages. It is almost inevitable that the Easter Island language will disappear entirely.

By extensive comparisons of vocabularies, Churchill (51) has attempted to determine the exact position of the Easter Island language in relation to the rest of Polynesia, principally to the southeastern division. The statistical method of Churchill is not convincing, but his results are worth mentioning:

> Of the eastern Polynesian languages Churchill found the Tuamotuan dialect to be the most closely related to that of Easter Island. His Tuamotuan material is so incomplete that the affinity of the two languages must be investigated in the light of new evidence. In the vocabularies of Mangareva which were at his disposal, Churchill (51, p. 162) discovered 651 vocables common to Mangareva and Easter Island languages. The dialects differ only in that the Mangarevan *k* has been replaced by the glottal stop. This creates an important phonetic difference between the two languages. The Easter Island dialect shows striking affinity with Maori.

The grammar of the Easter Island language is typically Polynesian and presents no striking individuality. No special gestures accompany speech. The motion of denial consists of throwing the head slightly backward and lifting the eyebrows.

NAMES OF EASTER ISLAND

Easter Island was named by Roggeveen for the day on which he discovered it—Easter Sunday, 1722. In 1770 the Spaniards under Gonzalez had called it San Carlos in honor of Carlos III, the king of Spain, but this name lasted no longer than the memory of the soon-forgotten expedition. At first the Spaniards christened it "Isla de Davis", believing that they had found the island sighted by the English buccaneer, Edward Davis. Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) uses Davis's Land as a synonym for Easter Island.

Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 293) and his companions, in 1774, unsuccessfully attempted to discover the native name of Easter Island. The name Teapi was obtained by the Tahitian, Otiti, who understood a little of the native language. Tamariki was also given, but both of these may have been place names. The name Whyhu (Vaihu) was recorded by the reconnoitering party sent by Cook to the interior:

> On its way along the coast the expedition met a chief who was asked his name and whether he was the king of the island or of only one district. The gesture of the *ariki* was interpreted as embracing all the island, and as he uttered the word Vaihu and even made affirmative gestures when called "the *ariki* of Vaihu", the explorers were persuaded that they were speaking with the king of Easter Island. On J. R. Forster's authority (84, vol. 1, p. 589), Easter Island was called Vaihu, until this name was found to apply only to a cove on the south coast near which the interview with the chief took place.

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The name Rapa-nui is of recent origin. It is first mentioned in 1864 by Father Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 52). A few years later Father Roussel investigated the whole question of names and came to the following conclusion (190, p. 356):

> Native tradition has it that Easter Island never had a maori name which distinguished it from the numerous islands of the Pacific. Rapa-nui is unknown to the natives. This name was introduced by foreigners—that is, by natives of the neighboring islands who called here with the whalers. Over and over I repeated my questions to ascertain the reliability of their statements. They always answered, "We do not know Rapa-nui. Our land has never had a proper name. We only know Hangaroa, Vaihu, Hotu-iti, etc. Everything but the island has a name." This nomenclature extends to houses, mountain peaks, cliffs, the smallest spot of land, stones; hence the names Matavivi, Hanga-piko, Hapina, and so on.

Palmer (171, p. 167), who visited the island while Father Roussel was still there, believes that the name Rapa-nui was given by early immigrants from Rapa (Oparo or Rapa-iti), who called Easter Island the "great Rapa" because of its large size. However, there is no other evidence of an ancient connection between Rapa and Easter Island.

Thomson (215, p. 453) states that the name Rapa-nui was given by the kidnapped Easter Islanders who returned from Peru. They found that Rapa was better known than their own island, so they changed the name Te-Pito-te-henua to Rapa-nui. This explanation was undoubtedly invented by a European to account for a name which was obviously new. Cooke (54, p. 702) writes that the name Rapa-nui was given to the island by Tahitians in 1866 to distinguish it from Rapa-iti. Jaussen (115, p. 240) attributes the name to a sailor.

Rapa-nui is mentioned three times in the Rarotongan traditions as an island visited by early native voyagers (209, vol. 28, pp. 74, 192). Like Stokes (212), I consider the inclusion of Rapa-nui in these traditions to be recent. At the time they were recorded, Easter Islanders had been dispersed throughout Polynesia, some of them residing in the Cook Islands (190 and 89, p. 213). Nowadays the name Rapa-nui is popular on the island itself and is used throughout Polynesia in referring to Easter Island or its inhabitants.

De Lapelin (129, p. 109, note 4) believed that Easter Island was the Mata-ki-te-rangi mentioned in a Mangarevan tradition which he heard in Tahiti. Mata-ki-te-rangi probably refers to Pitcairn or some other island and has been identified with Easter Island only in recent times.

Alexander P. Salmon, a Tahitian and a keen investigator of the island traditions, is responsible for the name Te-Pito-te-henua, transcribed by Geiseler (87, p. 5), and Clark (52, p. 145) into the Tahitian form of *fenua*. Thomson (215, p. 452) and Cooke (54, p. 701) were also told by Salmon in 1886 that this was the original name of the island. They translated it "navel and uterus" and found it appropriate for an island where the volcanic

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cones had the form of navels and where the Rano-kao and the Rano-raraku could be considered the "uterus" or the "womb" of the land or perhaps of the statues. If the legend of Hotu-matua was dictated to Thomson in its true native form, the name Te-Pito-te-henua was bestowed upon the island by its first king just after he landed at Anakena. Thomson translates the name "The navel-of-the-deep"; Cooke (54, p. 708) calls it "The-land-in-the-middle-of-the-sea"; Jaussen's posthumous paper (112) calls it "The-navel-of-the-world." The word *pito* means "end" as well as "navel", and thus the mysterious name discovered by Salmon would be "The-end-of-the-land". This interpretation was proposed by Churchill (51, p. 3) and confirmed by some Easter Islanders who pointed out on a map the three promontories as the "pito-te-henua" or the ends of the island.

Te-Pito-te-henua is not unknown to the present islanders who must hear it frequently from visitors. My informant insisted that a large round stone on Ahu-te-pito-te-kura was the "navel" from which originated the name of Te-Pito-te-henua, but I have good reason to believe that he forged this tradition. The name may have some remote connection with the cutting of the navel cords of Tuu-ma-heke and of Ava-reipua, shortly after the arrival of Hotu-matua (p. 56) on the island.

Thomson (215, p. 452) and Cooke (54, p. 702) says that the name Hiti-te-eiranga (misspelled Kiti-te-eiranga) was used by the English. Jaussen (112) gives it as one of the names of the island. Churchill (51, p. 2) discards it as non-existent either in the Easter Island dialect or in any other Polynesian language. Stokes (212) has brought new evidence that during the last century the name Hiti-ai-rangi (The-border-of-the-sky) was, if not the real name of the island, one of the names by which it was known abroad. In Rapa he met natives from Tokelau and central Polynesia who had returned from Peru on the same ship which carried back to Easter Island the survivors of the 1862 kidnapping. These men remembered that the Easter Islanders on board called their home country Hiti-ai-rangi, but one of them also heard the name Rapa-nui from a sailor on the ship. If Hiti-ai-rangi was actually the native name for Easter Island it would have been known to Roussel, who spoke the native language and made special inquiries about it, and to Salmon and others who stayed long on the island. Present natives are totally ignorant of this word. Like Rapa-nui, Hiti-ai-rangi was perhaps a name given to the island by foreigners at the time when European influence brought together natives of distant Polynesian islands.

None of the names discussed here has been accepted unanimously by the islanders. In my opinion, there was no native name for the whole island. If there had been one it could hardly have disappeared by the time the natives were first asked for it. Originally, no need was felt for a general name for the island, as it was probably never visited by the inhabitants of other islands.

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101 The lack of a name for the island as a whole "was quite in accord with the 103 islander's habit of mind to speckle his home with names changing every few feet and to leave the major divisions nameless" (51, p. 4).

EUROPEAN CONTACTS

175 With no sheltered harbors along its coast and with winds which suddenly shift direction, Easter Island does not afford safe anchorage for any vessel, [133] least of all for sailing ships. This unfavorable geographical feature combined with isolation, lack of resources, and the suspicious attitude of the natives is partly responsible for the enigmas presented by the island's culture. The early discoverers and seafarers were little inclined to stay long on an island considered dangerous for ships and men; information about the native culture was obtained hurriedly and is generally superficial or incomplete, notwithstanding the talent of observers like Cook, the two Forsters, La Pérouse, or Beechey and the enormous interest they took in the strange monuments they saw scattered everywhere. When the missionaries settled on the island, in the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, the old life had already disappeared.

175 The mysterious land, "500 leagues from Copiapo," sighted in 1687 by the buccaneer, Edward Davis, was probably not Easter Island but Mangareva. In 609 his quest for the hypothetical land of Davis, Roggeveen came upon Easter Island on the fifth of April, 1722. The following day a native went on board the flagship, where he made a very favorable impression. He was cheerful, "lively in mien, as well as pleasing in speech and gesture" (18, vol. 1, p. 123). His behavior was observed with much curiosity (186, p. 8). And as the musicians played their instruments for him, "he began at once to caper and dance about" (18, vol. 1, p. 124). He was sent ashore with various small gifts.

Later a great many natives boarded the ships and showed (186, p. 11) "at that time their great cupidity for everything they saw; and were so daring that they took the seamen's hats and caps from off their heads, and sprang overboard with the spoil." Further attempts to pilfer were made when Roggeveen and a party of 137 men landed. The resulting confusion and the threatening appearance of the islanders, who picked up stones, frightened some of the crew, who fired a volley. Ten or twelve natives were killed and the others ran away. But, as no more harm was done them, the fugitives returned with friendly gestures and with no apparent resentment. They were ordered by a chief to bring to the foreigners presents of sugar cane, bananas, fowls, and yams. If Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 128) is to be relied upon, they even bowed and knelt before the Dutchmen and brought them standards like those they presented to their *ariki*. Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 134) says that the women proposed themselves quite openly and were offered to the sailors by

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
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really seen land. Moreover the wind began to falter [*vagiren*] and shifted round towards the W., which, on coasts where the trade-wind prevails, is always a sign that one is not far from land. Still, to the great surprise of our Admiral, we saw no David's Land, so far; and it is my belief that either we overran it, or that there is no such land there. This at any rate is certain, that all the coast lines of the South Lands stretch for the most part East and West, or East, N. and West-South (*sic*); which may be a principal reason why this South Land has remained undiscovered by many [navigators] hitherto. One approaches the land on a W.N.W. course, and with a N.W. one leaves it behind altogether, which I ascertained by comparing the [positions of] all the Southern Lands already discovered and constructing a chart whereon it is clearly shown that navigators have passed in the near neighbourhood of land or, with a N.W. course have sailed right away from it.

We continued on another 12° to the westward of the longitude above mentioned, and had land birds and sea-fowl about us every day, who kept company with us until we at last sighted an island, on the 6th of April, being our first Easter Day[1], at which we were heartily pleased. And because it was on the day of the glorious resurrection of Our Lord that it appeared to us we at once named it Pasch Land, or 'Easter Land.' [It was] about eight miles in circumference[2]. Our African galley had got close in with the land and reported that the place appeared to be very fertile; moreover, that it must be inhabited, as smoke had been noticed rising in several places. Next day we stood in with our ships to look for a harbour, whereupon one of the natives came off in a small skiff [*schiffgen*] to meet us some two miles off the land. We took him aboard our vessel and gave him a piece of linen cloth to wrap about his body, for he was quite naked; and we offered him beads and other trinkets, all of which he hung round his neck together with a dried fish. He was very cleverly and regularly painted with all sorts of figures: he was of a brown tint, and had long ears which hung down as far as his shoulders as if they had been stretched to that length by being weighted, after the fashion of the Mongolian Moors. He was fairly tall in stature, strong in limb, of good appearance, and lively in mien, as well as pleasing in

[1] They had sailed from Holland on Aug. 1st of the foregoing year, 1721.

[2] German statute miles must here be meant.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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of Taheitee. The monarchical government likewiſe ſtrengthens the affinity between the Eaſter Iſlanders and the tropical tribes, its prerogatives being only varied according to the different degrees of fertility of the iſlands, and the opulence or luxury of the people. Eaſter Iſland, or, as the natives call it, WAIHU, is ſo very barren, that the whole number of plants growing upon it does not exceed twenty ſpecies, of which far the greater part is cultivated*; though the ſpace which the plantations occupy is inconſiderable, compared with that which lies waſte. The ſoil is altogether ſtoney, and parched by the ſun, and water is ſo ſcarce, that the inhabitants drink it out of wells which have a ſtrong admixture of brine; nay, ſome of our people really ſaw them drink of the ſea-water when they were thirſty. Their habit of body muſt, in ſome meaſure, be influenced by theſe circumſtances; they are meagre, and their muſcles hard and rigid; they live very frugally, and, in general, go almoſt wholly naked, only covering the head, which is the moſt ſenſible of heat, with feathered caps, and puncturing or daubing the reſt with colours. Their ideas of decency are, of courſe, very different from thoſe of nations who are accuſtomed to clothing. They cut ſhort their hair and beards

* The Spaniards mention white calabaſhes, *(pompions,)* among the vegetable productions of this iſland; but we did not ſee any.—See Mr. Dalrymple's judicious letter to Dr. Hawkeſworth.

from

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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tireless, anxious to please, and ready at all times, day or night, to do our bidding. Two of them, Luka and Iluki, were especially useful to us. The latter was the more intelligent of the two, and was remarkably well informed regarding everything pertaining to the island. He knew the name of every point, headland, bay, etc., and his replies to our questions were given without hesitancy and so correctly, as we found by testing him, that he frequently surprised us. The writer obtained much information from him, and might have gained much more, regarding the native plants, insects, shells, etc., but unfortunately our interpreter, who had been but a short time on the island, was practically useless as a medium between us, and to understand each other's meaning was therefore most difficult. Owing to this fact, the want of facilities and conveniences for collecting and preserving specimens, and the absence of works of reference, but little could be accomplished in the particulars above mentioned. 115

A source of great annoyance to us during our trip was the hordes of flies which kept us company on the march, and then whenever we approached camp in the evening were greeted and cordially welcomed by other hordes which had been in previous possession of the locality. Many of the islands of the South Pacific are noted for the swarms of flies which infest them, one Bairon, having been named by the navigator Schouten, 1616, Vliegen Islands by reason of the myriads which assailed and finally drove him to sea. 136

Another, and in some respects even worse plague, was the fleas, which had their origin in the numerous dogs kept on the island. [231]

One more source of discomfort, in connection with our stay at the hospitable residence of Mr. Salmon, was the host of cockroaches which swarmed every part of the premises, measuring 2 or more inches in length, with antennæ to correspond, and furnished with wings of a beautiful glistening brown.

TOPOGRAPHY.

From the most reliable information obtainable it appears that the ancient name of the island was *Te Pito te henua*. Referring to the vocabulary it will be seen that the word *Pito*, in Rapa Nui signifies *navel*, and *henua*, the *uterus*. What association of ideas could have prompted these appellations it is, of course, difficult to imagine at the present day. The following speculations, which have occurred to the writer, are given for what they may be worth. The island is distinctly of volcanic origin, and on nearly all the hills and mountains the craters are clearly traceable, most markedly and startlingly so in the case of Rana Kao, at the southwest end. As will be seen, the craters of both volcanoes (all on the island are now extinct) are of great depth, with lakes of water at their bottoms. In the cases of the other volcanoes the craters are much more shallow, symmetrical, more evenly rounded, overgrown with grass, present a very striking and beautiful appear- 103 133

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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103 133 ance, particularly when the slanting rays of the rising or setting sun shine upon them, and at that time especially, when they stand so prominently forth, would readily suggest the human navel, from which it may be inferred that portion of the name of the island might be derived.

Regarding the other word, *henua*, the *uterus;* can it be that they meant to designate by this term the great volcano Rana Roraku, in whose womb was created, and from whose vitals was born that host of monolithic images which once reared their colossal forms aloft, giant genii guarding these rock-bound shores, and which to-day, prone and mutilated as they are, fill the mind of the voyager with wonder, awe, and admiration?

103 *Hiti te eiranga*, the name said to have been given to the island by the English is, perhaps, a corruption of that above-mentioned, as is certainly also the name *Te Pito fenua*, wrongly stated as signifying "the land in the middle of the sea." The name *Rapa Nui*, signifying Great Rapa, is modern, having been given to the island by the Tahitians twenty years since, to distinguish it from *Rapa iti*, Little Rapa, otherwise called Oparo, an island lying 1,000 miles to the westward, in the direction of the Society Group, which latter is 2,500 miles distant. The name Easter was given the island by Roggeween, who discovered it on Easter Sunday, 1721. It has also been called by various names, such as Teapy and Waihu.

It has often been subject of remark that this propensity of giving new, modern, European names to lands and islands, not only when originally discovered, but often when merely revisited, may be considered as not only in questionable taste, but as leading to endless confusion. The charts and Sailing Directions are replete with instances of that sort, cases occurring when perhaps half a dozen modern and strangely appearing names, each by a different navigator, are applied to one small island or group of islands. The spelling of the native names is also, in many instances, wide of the mark. These strictures may be said to apply with special force to the island under consideration, and, therefore, in these reports and on the corrected chart its ancient name, as well as the native names of its mountains, bays, and headlands, have been adhered to as closely as practicable, while at the same time the greatest care has been exercised in spelling them phonetically as received from the natives.

175 Since its discovery the island has been visited at successive times by Cook and La Perouse; by the H. M. S. *Blossom* in 1825, and *Topaze* in 1868; by the Chilean gunboat *O'Higgins* in 1870 and 1875; by the H. M. S. *Sappho* in 1882, and by the German gunboat *Hyæne* in the same year.

The U. S. S. *Mohican* arrived at the island December 18 and sailed December 31, 1886.

131 The distance to the nearest inhabited island to the westward, Pit-